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IX. — *The Worship of Augustus in Italy during His Lifetime*

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AUGUSTUS' attitude toward receiving divine honors is most fully explained by Cassius Dio. According to his account Roman citizens of the Orient were commanded, early in Augustus' reign, to worship at temples that were erected to the goddess Roma and the deified Julius, but natives of the East were allowed to establish precincts to Augustus, the earliest founded being the shrine of the province of Asia at Pergamum and that of Bithynia at Nicomedia. "This practice," Dio goes on to say, "beginning under him has been continued under the other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still even there various divine honors are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and in fact shrines are built to them."¹

The distinction that Dio makes in the worship of the living emperor between Rome and the provinces, between Romans who were unfamiliar with such practice and Orientals who from the time of Alexander had been in the habit of deifying their rulers, is borne out by literary and inscriptional references to the imperial cult under Augustus. But against Dio's statement that Augustus was not accorded divine honors in Italy before his death there can be cited a mass of inscrip-

¹ Dio, LI, 20. The translations from Dio are quoted from Cary's excellent version in the Loeb Classical Library. On Augustus' attitude toward worship of his person compare Suetonius' less detailed statement (*Aug.* 52): *Templa quamvis sciret etiam proconsulibus decerni solere in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit, nam in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore.*

tional evidence which proves that temples and priests of Augustus existed in municipalities of Italy before 14 A.D. Such evidence provides justification for the charge which Tacitus says men made against Augustus immediately after his death (*Ann.* I, 10): *Nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.*

It is the purpose of this paper to consider the evidence for the cult of Augustus in Italian municipalities during his lifetime and to determine if possible how widespread it was and what was its origin and character. The discussion will be limited to such records as seem to indicate the actual worship of the living Emperor. Such auxiliary forms of the imperial cult in municipalities as the worship of *Fortuna Redux* and of *Pax Augusta* will be reserved for a future study in which I hope to consider fully the dated evidence for all forms of the imperial cult under Augustus.²

Dated inscriptions attest the existence of priests, temples, and altars of Augustus, during his lifetime, at the twelve following Italian cities: Neapolis, Pompeii, Cumae, Puteoli, Beneventum, Terracina, Praeneste, Pisae, Perugia, Verona, Pola, and Aquileia. At Pola, Terracina, and perhaps elsewhere the goddess Roma was associated with Augustus in the cult, a fact that betrays the influence of the provincial cult of Roma and Augustus.³

The earliest dated evidence for the worship comes from the year 2 B.C., when the senate at Rome gave permission for games to be instituted in Augustus' honor at Neapolis. Here again Dio's account is instructive. After speaking of the

² The most recent detailed treatment of the cult under Augustus is Heinen's article, "Zur Begründung des römischen Kaiserkultus," *Klio*, XI (1911), 129-177, where there are full citations of the earlier literature. Heinen's dates must be used with great caution. Cf. also Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 123-129; J. S. Reid, *Journal of Roman Studies*, VI (1916), 176 f.

³ At Verona the cult seems originally to have been directed toward Augustus alone, but later to have included Roma. The games called *Ρωμαία Σεβαστά* may indicate an association of Roma with the cult in Neapolis, especially since in the Eastern provinces the goddess shared in the honors of the games on which the Neapolitan celebration was modelled.

celebration at the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor he continues (IV, 10): "These were the celebrations in honor of Mars. To Augustus himself a sacred contest was voted in Neapolis, the Campanian city, nominally because he had restored it when it was prostrated by earthquake and fire, but in reality because its inhabitants alone of the Campanians tried in a manner to imitate the customs of the Greeks." With the institution of these games, whose thoroughly Hellenic character is confirmed by a statement of Strabo⁴ and by the fact that all the records are in Greek,⁵ a temple seems to have been established. Certainly there was later such a temple, to which, according to a fragmentary record, a sacred procession made its way (Dittenberger-Purgold, *l.c.*, line 48). In any case there can be no doubt that the games that were held every four years at Neapolis accompanied the worship of Augustus. Their very name, Ἰταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ Ἰσολύμπια, shows that they were modelled not only on the Olympic Games but on such festivals as the Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ celebrated every four years at the provincial temple of Roma and Augustus in Pergamum.⁶

After the year 3-2 B.C. and apparently not very long thereafter, dates the earliest occurrence of the title *sacerdos Augusti* at Pompeii.⁷ At about the same time the temple of Roma

⁴ Strabo, v, 4, 7; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 98, *Claud.* 11; Vell. II, 123, 1; Dio, LVI, 29.

⁵ *Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom. pertin.* I, 447-449; Dittenberger-Purgold, *In-schriften von Olympia*, 56; *C.I.L.* XII, 3232.

⁶ *C.I.L.* III, 7086; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1065; *Orientis gr. inscr. sel.* 458, 1. 59. Games held every four years in Augustus' honor were established early in his reign at Mytilene and Epidaurus also. For a fuller discussion of the Neapolitan games see Civitelli, *Atti dell'Accademia di Arch. Napol.* xvii (1894); Wissowa, *Woch. kl. Phil.* xiv (1897), 763-770.

⁷ The inscriptions of M. Holconius Rufus, the first priest of Augustus at Pompeii (*C.I.L.* x, 830, 837, 838, 947, 948), all designa tehim as *duumvir* for the fourth time, an office he is known to have held in 3-2 B.C. Heinen is wrong in dating these inscriptions in the year when Holconius held the office, for the title serves simply as a *terminus post quem*. Since Holconius seems to have held the priesthood for some time and yet was succeeded by M. Holconius Celer before Augustus' death (cf. *C.I.L.* x, 840, 943, 944), it is likely that the earliest inscriptions are not much later than 2 B.C. It is also noteworthy that

and Augustus seems to have been erected at Pola.⁸ An Augusteum is mentioned at Pisae in 2 A.D., and a *flamen Augustalis* two years later.⁹ At Cumae a calendar of festivals to be celebrated in honor of Augustus and his house, providing for the sacrifice of a victim to the Emperor on his birthday, was set up, perhaps in a temple of Augustus, between 4 A.D. and 14 A.D.¹⁰ At Aquileia an altar was erected to Augustus a few months before his death in 14 A.D.¹¹

To this evidence, all of which dates between 2 B.C. and 14 A.D., must be added a number of other inscriptions which, though not definitely dated, certainly belong to the Emperor's lifetime. These record a temple of Augustus at Puteoli,¹² a temple of Roma and Augustus at Terracina,¹³ a Caesareum at

the earliest dated case of the well-known *ministri Augusti* of Pompeii belongs to the year 2 B.C. But the general belief that this title is a later development of the earlier term *minister Mercurii Maiae* has been shown by Bormann to lack foundation. Cf. *Wiener Eranos*, 1909, 315 f. The exact relation of the *ministri Augusti* to the imperial cult is still obscure; they may perhaps be associated with the Augustales or with the officials in charge of the cult of the Lares Compitales.

⁸ The inscription on the epistyle of the temple now standing there is, *Romae et Augusto Caesari divi f. patri patriae* (*C.I.L.* v, 18). The prominence given to the title *pater patriae* which stands alone in the second line suggests that the temple was erected soon after the title was conferred in 2 B.C.,

⁹ *C.I.L.* xi, 1420, line 1, records a meeting of the *decuriones* of Pisae *in foro in Augusteo* in 2 A.D. This is the earliest certainly dated monument of the cult. *C.I.L.* xi, 1421, records a *flamen Augustalis* in 4 A.D.

¹⁰ *C.I.L.* i, pt. 1², p. 229 (= *C.I.L.* x, 3682) with Mommsen's commentary. Cf. also Mommsen, *Herm.* xvii (1882), 631-643 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, iv, 259-270). Bormann, *Arch.-epig. Mitth.* xix (1896), 115 ff., notes that there is no actual proof for the statement frequently made that this festival list belonged to a temple of Augustus.

¹¹ *C.I.L.* v, 852: *Imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto pontif. maxim. trib. potest. xxxvii cos. xiii p. p. sacrum*. The word *sacrum* seems to indicate that the dedication belonged to an altar set up to Augustus. This inscription does not, however, conclusively prove an official municipal cult.

¹² *C.I.L.* x, 1613: [*L. Cl.*] *alpurnius L. f. templum Augusto cum ornamentis d. s. f.* Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, 109, n. 9, cites the interesting case in Suet. *Aug.* 98 of Alexandrian sailors at Puteoli making offerings to Augustus as he was sailing past the city.

¹³ *C.I.L.* x, 6305: *Romae et Augusto Caesari divi [f.] A. Aemilius A. f. ex pecunia sua f. c.*

Beneventum,¹⁴ a sacred grove and precinct at Perusia,¹⁵ and priests of Augustus at Verona¹⁶ and Praeneste.¹⁷

I have not included in this list Fanum Fortunae in Umbria, where Vitruvius' statement (v, 1, 7) that he arranged the columns of his basilica "ne impediunt aspectus pronai aedis augusti," has been thought to provide evidence for another temple of Augustus. The difficulties of the passage are great. Elsewhere in the *de Architectura* the Emperor is addressed simply as Imperator Caesar and there is no other passage in the treatise which need date later than 30 B.C.¹⁸ As Sontheimer¹⁹ has ably shown, the usual interpretation of the passage is impossible. Krohn in the introduction to his text of Vitruvius (Teubner, 1912) has given strong reasons for regarding the entire description of the basilica as spurious.

Hirschfeld,²⁰ Rushforth,²¹ Richter,²² Heinen,²³ and others

¹⁴ *C.I.L.* ix, 1556: P. Veidius P. f. Pollio Caesareum imp. Caesari Augusto et coloniae Beneventanae. The Publius Veidius Pollio who erected the temple here styled Caesareum has been identified with the wealthy Roman knight Vedius Pollio, of whom Dio, liv, 23, gives an interesting account on the occasion of his death in 15 B.C. But there is nothing besides the name to prove the identity.

¹⁵ *C.I.L.* xi, 1922: Augusto lucus sacer; 1923 (four *cippi*, each bearing the inscription): Augusto sacr. Perusia restituta.

¹⁶ *C.I.L.* v, 3341, which records a flamen Aug. primo Veron. creatus, apparently an early form of the priesthood that later had the title *flamen Romae et Augusti* in Verona.

¹⁷ *C.I.L.* xiv, 2964. Although Dessau here questions Foggini's reading, *flamen Caesaris Augusti*, there seems to be no adequate reason to reject it. It is possible that Nola should be added to this list. In that town was found an altar with the inscription (x, 1238), Augusto sacrum restituerunt Laurinienses pecunia sua cultores d. d. The dedication seems, however, to belong rather to some organization of freedmen than to an official town cult. On the altar is said to be represented along with various sacrificial implements an attendant who carries an axe and leads a cow. It seems possible that the descriptions are wrong and that the victim is a bull, the usual sacrifice to the emperor.

¹⁸ Cf. Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* II, 1³, 537 f.

¹⁹ Sontheimer, *Vitruvius und seine Zeit* (Tübingen, 1908), 100-104. See also M. H. Morgan, *Addresses and Essays*, 238, note.

²⁰ *Sitzungsb. d. Berliner Akad.* xxxv (1888), 838 (= *Kleine Schriften*, 477 f.).

²¹ *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, 51-58.

²² Roscher's *Lexikon*, s. v. Roma. Richter's references for the cult of Roma and Augustus in Italy are unreliable.

²³ *L.c.*, especially the list of *Priester, Tempeln, und Altäre des lebenden Augustus*

give much longer lists of the towns where Augustus was worshipped as a god before his death, but they include towns where the titles *flamen Augusti* or *Augustalis* and *flamen Romae et Augusti* occur. They apparently base their action on the belief that these titles indicate the worship of the first Augustus and belong to a cult instituted before his death, while priests of his cult established later would be called *flamen divi Augusti* or *flamen Romae et divi Augusti*. This view is disproved by inscriptions of Pompeii where Marcus Holconius Celer is called *sacerdos Augusti* before 14 A.D. and *sacerdos divi Augusti* after that date. He continued to devote himself to Augustus' cult after the Emperor's death, but in order to do so he had to change his title to fit the Emperor's new divine status.²⁴ Moreover Toutain and Geiger have conclusively shown that both in the provincial and in the municipal cult the titles *flamen* (or *sacerdos*) *Augusti*, *flamen Romae et Augusti*, and even the simple title *flamen* refer not to the cult of the first emperor, but to the cult of the living emperor whoever he might be.²⁵ Similarly, as Geiger has shown, the title *flaminica* denotes a priestess of the living empress.

The importance of these facts, abundantly demonstrated by the cases that Toutain and Geiger cite, has not been generally recognized. Yet it has great bearing on our discussion, not only in diminishing the dated evidence for the cult in Augustus' lifetime, but also in disproving the statement frequently made that the worship of the living emperor

²⁴ The inscriptions *C.I.L.* x, 840, 943, 944 date before Augustus' death; 945 and 946 are later.

²⁵ For the provinces and for provincial towns see Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, I, 43-51, where the most convincing evidence is provided by the inscriptions of the shrine of the three Gauls. One of the priests of this cult bears the title *sac[e]rd[os] ad templ(um) Rom[ae] et Auggg. trium prov(inciarum) [G]all(iarum)*, *C.I.L.* XIII, 1691. The erasure of the third *g* of *Auggg.* can leave no doubt that this inscription refers to Septimus Severus, Geta, and Caracalla. The applicability of the same general principle to all municipalities is demonstrated by Geiger, *De sacerdotibus Augustorum municipalibus* (Halle, 1913), 14-18. For the simple title *flamen*, cf. Geiger, 21-23.

was peculiar to the reign of the first Augustus.²⁶ Many of the inscriptions recording the titles *flamen*, *flamen Augusti*, etc., are undeniably post-Augustan, and a number of them can be definitely dated in the reign of later emperors. Thus a *flamen Augustalis* of Venafrum (x, 4868) belongs to the reign of Tiberius, two *flamines Romae et Augusti* of Luna to Nero (xi, 1331, 6955), a *flamen Aug(usti)* of Libarna (v, 7425) to Nerva, and a *flamen Augustalis* of Reate (ix, 4686) to Commodus. To these cases showing the cult of the living emperor at a later period may be added priests of a particular emperor who is not designated as *divus*. For Tiberius such priests are known at Venusia (ix, 652) and Surrentum (x, 688), for Claudius at Pompeii (iv, 1180) and Puteoli (x, 1558), for Trajan and Hadrian at Sassina (xi, 6505) and Tergeste (v, 545). The evidence shows that even Tiberius, the emperor who was most determined not to receive divine honors before his death,²⁷ was worshipped in Italian municipalities during his lifetime.

This worship of the living emperor is attested by records of temples and priests in more than sixty towns in all parts of Italy.²⁸ It was not, as we have seen, peculiar to the first

²⁶ Cf. for instance Mommsen, *Herm.* xvii (1882), 641, where it is suggested that Tiberius must have been particularly effective in curtailing this worship.

²⁷ Suet. *Tib.* 26; Dio, lvii, 8-9.

²⁸ In addition to the four places already mentioned the cult of Roma and Augustus is attested by records of temples at Ulubrae and Ostia and offpriests at Ostia, Luna, and Tridentum. An *Augusteum* is recorded at the Etruscan Ferentum (*Notiz. Scav.* 1911, 23). *Flamines Augusti* or *Augustales* (or in rare cases *sacerdotes*) not previously mentioned are known at the following towns: Pompeii, Venafrum, Ardea, Aesernia, Peltuinum, Aveia, Reate, Falerio, Clusium, Urvinum Hortense, Ateste, Cremona, Libarna, Camunni, Pola (*C.I.L.* v, 47, where the title is *flamen Augustor(um)*), and three unknown towns (*C.I.L.* xiv, 3500, 3590; v, 5511). The title *flamen* is known at the following towns: Locri, Nola, Venafrum, Ferentinum, Ostia, Gabii, Nomentum, Castrimoenium, Aeclanum*, Aesernia*, Lupiae, Pinna*, Teruentum, Veii, Tifernum Metaurense, Urvinum Metaurense, Forum Sempronii, Mutina, Ariminum, Brixia, Feltria, Parentium, Aquileia, Concordia*, Acelum, Bellunum, Arusnates, Mediolanum, Vercelli, Genua, Dertona, and an unknown town (v, 6480). The evidence for towns that are marked with an asterisk is based on inscriptions in which the titles are fragmentary.

Augustus. Even under him it was not confined, as Hirschfeld believed (*l.c.*), to towns that enjoyed his special patronage; nor was it, as Nissen thought (*Pompeianische Studien*, 182 f.), a cult established by private individuals; nor finally, as Ferguson has argued (*Am. Hist. Rev.* XVIII [1912-1913], 45 f.), a cult mainly followed by slaves and freedmen. It was probably established under Augustus in every municipality and colony of Italy and in many towns of the Western provinces. With its public priests chosen from the chief citizens of the towns,²⁹ its temples in the municipal fora,³⁰ its calendar of festivals to be celebrated, it bears all the marks of an official cult that enjoyed imperial sanction and support. Yet as in other municipal institutions there was no insistence on absolute uniformity in the cult. Sometimes, as was regularly the case in the provincial cult, the goddess Roma was worshipped with the emperor, though more often she was not. Sometimes the priest was called a *sacerdos*, more often a *flamen*. His title might be the more general one of *flamen Augusti* (or *Augustalis*) or a more definite one that indicated his association with a particular emperor.³¹

How then are we to reconcile this cult of the living emperor with Dio's statement that in Rome and in Italy generally no emperor, however renowned, had dared to make himself a god before his death? This is a subject on which Dio, a Roman consular with a first-hand knowledge of Roman institutions, might be expected to know whereof he spoke, and, in spite of the general belief to the contrary, I think he did know. For, except perhaps in the case of the Greek city Neapolis, the cult that our inscriptions record was, I believe,

²⁹ On the status of these priests see Geiger, *op. cit.* 60 f.

³⁰ The temple of Roma and Augustus at Pola stands in the forum of the ancient city, and the inscription *C.I.L.* XI, 1420, shows that the same thing was true of the Augusteum of Pisae. The Augusteum of Ferentum seems also to have been in the forum.

³¹ For the independence of individual municipalities in the observance of this cult compare Mommsen's comments, *op. cit.* 640, on the festivals listed in the calendar from Cumae.

directed not toward the emperor himself but toward his genius.

Let us consider in this connection the evidence for the origin of the cult of the emperor's genius at Rome. As early as the year 30 B.C. the senate voted that at all banquets, both public and private, a libation be poured to Octavian's genius.³² In 13 B.C. — probably, as Mommsen has shown,³³ by decree of the senate — the genius of Augustus seems to have been included among the official cults of the Roman state. Horace refers in poems of that year to the two forms which the new cult assumed, first to the inclusion of Augustus' genius in the official form of oath,³⁴ and second to the introduction of the Genius Augusti into the newly organized cult of the Lares Compitales, who from now on were identified with the Lares Augusti.³⁵ This cult, abundantly known from inscriptions of Rome and elsewhere and from shrines at practically every street crossing in Pompeii, is attested first at Rome in 12 B.C.; its complete reorganization dates, as both Dio's statement and inscriptional evidence prove, from 7 B.C.³⁶

Further evidence for the cult of the genius is found in the numerous sacrifices to that divinity which are recorded in the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*. There is a significance which has not been fully recognized in the places where these sacrifices occurred. They were held either on the Capitol where victims were at the same time offered to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, perhaps at the same altar with which official oaths were associated, or, less often, in the Forum Augustum where

³² Dio, LI, 19, 7. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 637 f.; Hor. *Carm.* IV, 5, 31-35.

³³ *Herm.* XV (1880), 107-109 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, VII, 179-181).

³⁴ *Epist.* II, 1, 15-16. The oath had previously been taken by Juppiter Optimus Maximus and the Di Penates. Later the deified emperors were included in the oath which under Domitian read: per Iovem et divom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom Vespasianum Augustum et divom Titum Augustum et genium imp(eratoris) Caesaris Domitiani Augusti deosque penates (*C.I.L.* II, 1963; cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II³, 809, n. 5).

³⁵ *Carm.* IV, 5, 33-35.

³⁶ Dio, LV, 8. For a summary of the evidence for the cult see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², 172 ff.

at the same time a victim was offered to Mars Ultor, whose temple stood in that Forum.³⁷ On the Capitol the deified emperors were sometimes included in the sacrifice as they were later included in the official oath, though usually the temple of the deified Augustus on the Palatine was the scene of sacrifice to them. In the Forum of Augustus the only divinities honored were Mars Ultor and the genius of the ruler.³⁸ So far as I know the significance of this combination has never been pointed out. Mars Ultor was not simply the god who avenged Caesar's death. As the father of Romulus he was also the father of the Julian house, just as Venus Genetrix, whose statue stood beside his in the temple, was the mother of the same house.³⁹ These two divinities would thus naturally typify the male and female procreative power of the family. With the father of the Julian house it was natural to associate the emperor's genius, the divinity that, as the connection of the word with *gignere* shows, personified

³⁷ Until the reign of Nero the fragmentary records of the Arval Brethren show sacrifices to the deified Augustus but none to the genius of the reigning emperor; this fact does not, however, indicate that such sacrifices were not performed by other officials or priests at an earlier period. For the evidence see Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, *passim*.

³⁸ Henzen, *op. cit.* p. LXXV, ll. 29 and 37 (59 A.D.); p. LXXXVI, 1 (reign of Nero); xciv, 88 (69 A.D.); xciv, 5; xcvi, 18 (both restored, 69 A.D.). These sacrifices all belong to the time of Nero and of Vitellius, a period when the *Acta* are preserved in considerable detail. Perhaps the sacrifices at this temple may have ceased after the Julian house came to an end. Vitellius, who entered upon his rule holding in his hand the sword of the deified Julius which had been taken from the temple of Mars Ultor (Suet. *Vit.* 8), may have wished to keep up the connection. Later Mars was sometimes included in the sacrifices held on the Capitol. Little can be learned from the special occasions on which the sacrifices were held in the Forum of Augustus. They were made twice *pro salute et reditu Neronis*; once *ob diem imperii* under Vitellius (an occasion on which the sacrifice to the genius is made on the Capitol under Nero; cf. the incident related from Suetonius above); again under the same emperor *pro salute et adventu imperatoris*. In two other instances the occasion is not clear.

³⁹ Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 549-598; *Trist.* II, 296. It is noteworthy that the calendar from Cumae records a *supplicatio* to Mars Ultor and Venus Genetrix on Caesar's birthday. See Wissowa's comments, *op. cit.* 292.

the male procreative force⁴⁰ and accordingly suggested the continuance of the race. It is significant that the victim regularly sacrificed both to Mars and to the emperor's genius was a bull, while a castrated animal such as the ox or the wether, a much more usual type of victim in Roman ritual, was always offered to deified emperors.⁴¹

Moreover it is noteworthy that the temple of Mars Ultor was dedicated in 2 B.C., a year signalized not only by the institution of the Neapolitan games but also by the fact that the senate then bestowed upon Augustus the title *pater patriae*. This new title, conferred at a time when the popularity of his grandsons Lucius and Gaius made the Emperor most confident that his dynasty would continue, suggests a natural association between Augustus the father of his country and Mars the father of Augustus and of the whole Julian race.⁴² This connection seems to have been in Ovid's mind when in 1 B.C., as Lucius was about to depart for the East, he wrote the following prayer for the youth:

Marsque pater Caesarque pater date numen eunti
Nam deus e vobis alter es, alter eris.⁴³

As *principes iuventutis*, the first holders of the title that was henceforth to be the special prerogative of the heirs to the succession, Gaius and Lucius were closely associated with the new temple. This title made them the special patrons of the *iuvenes*, a term that under Augustus was used in a semi-technical sense to refer to the boys of senatorial and

⁴⁰ Cf. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 30; Wissowa, *op. cit.* 175. For another view see Otto in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Genius*.

⁴¹ Wissowa, *op. cit.* 412 f. A cursory examination of the sacrificial scenes reproduced in Reinach's *Répertoire des reliefs grecs et romains* shows that the bull is by far the most frequent victim in such scenes. Many of them seem to belong to the cult of the emperor's genius. See my discussion of the altar of Manlius in the Lateran, soon to appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

⁴² In several cases where the emperor's genius is addressed, *pater patriae* is the only title used. Cf. Petr. *Sat.* 60; Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 637; *C.I.L.* XI, 3593.

⁴³ *A.A.* I, 203 f. In an inscription from Athens (*I.G.* III, 444 a) Gaius is addressed as the son of Ares.

equestrian rank between the ages of fifteen and seventeen. These youths were enrolled at Rome for a period of preliminary military training before they were sent to the provinces.⁴⁴ It was natural for the *iuvenes* to have a special connection with the new temple, the place where governors were henceforth to sacrifice on departing for their provinces and where the spoils of war were hereafter to be dedicated (Dio, LV, 10). Such a connection is shown by the provision, which Dio reports, that boys were henceforth to go there, presumably to sacrifice, when they assumed the *toga virilis* — an occasion on which hitherto sacrifices seem to have been made only on the Capitol.⁴⁵ It is further shown by the fact that every year there were to be held at this temple special games of the *iuvenes*, the Ludi Sevirales, directed by the *seviri equitum Romanorum*.

There is then reason to believe that with the establishment of the temple of Mars Ultor, a shrine with which both the past and the future of the reigning dynasty were intimately associated,⁴⁶ sacrifices were instituted to the genius of the Emperor, a deity that was looked upon as the perpetuating

⁴⁴ Cf. Rostowzew's excellent discussion of the *iuvenes* in his study of "Römische Bleitesserae," *Klio*, Beiheft III (1905), 59-93.

⁴⁵ Dio, LV, 10 . . . "Ἀπει, εἰαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους, ὁσάκις ἂν ἐθελήσωσι, τοὺς τε ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγραφομένους ἐκεῖσε πάντως ἀφικνεῖσθαι. See Rostowzew's comments on this passage, *op. cit.* 67.

Practically all the handbooks state that Augustus provided that princes of the imperial house should sacrifice at the temple of Mars Ultor when they assumed the *toga virilis*, but apparently the only authority for the belief is this passage — unfortunately fragmentary — which certainly does not limit the statement to the princes of the imperial family. Numerous references show that sacrifices continued to be made on the Capitol when the *toga virilis* was taken; that such was the case even for the imperial house is shown by Suet. *Claud.* 2, for Claudius, who, however, can hardly be regarded as a typical imperial prince. It is possible that a shrine of Iuventas may have existed in this temple as well as on the Capitol. In this connection see Warde Fowler's interesting comments on the significance of the combination 'Iuventas, Hercules, Genius,' in relation to the *iuvenes* (*op. cit.* 332, n. 12).

⁴⁶ Among the statues of famous men that adorned the Forum of Augustus where this temple stood there were numerous ancestors of the Julian house (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 563 f., and Huelsen's comments, *C.I.L.* I, pt. 1², p. 187).

force of the house. Several years before, at a time when the Emperor's plans for the succession were less definite, sacrifices to his genius had probably been begun on the Capitol, and the subsequent institution of similar ceremonies at the temple of Mars Ultor is one more evidence of Augustus' determination to give to the new temple rights and prerogatives that had hitherto belonged to the Capitulum alone.⁴⁷

It is with this cult of the ruler's genius that I would associate the temples and priests of the living emperors that from 2 B.C. begin to appear in Italian municipalities. It may be objected at the outset that the word *genius* would be expected in the name of temples and priests. But that word was by no means always used in the cult. When at Trimalchio's dinner the emperor's genius was honored, what the guests said was simply, "*Augusto patri patriae feliciter.*"⁴⁸

Here as on many another point of municipal organization the ruins and records of Pompeii provide important evidence. We have seen that the inscriptions there record priests of Augustus both before and after his death, and a priest of Claudius at a later period. The temple where the cult of the living emperor was observed should be in the forum, as were for instance the Augusteum in Pisae and the temple of Roma and Augustus in Pola. Now there is on the east side of the forum at Pompeii a small temple with a large forecourt. In the centre of the court directly in front of the temple is a four-sided marble altar with a sacrificial scene in relief on the front. A civic crown and laurel branches on the altar indicate a connection with an emperor, and the sacrificial scene in which a bull and not an ox is the victim shows that the emperor was living and that accordingly the offering was made to his genius. Earlier students of Pompeii called this the

⁴⁷ See again Dio, LV, 10, for the rules that governed the temple of Mars Ultor.

⁴⁸ Petr. *Sat.* 60; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 637. It is probable that the *Augusto feliciter* of numerous painted inscriptions of Pompeii refers to the emperor's genius; cf. *C.I.L.* IV, 427, 1084, 2460, 528, 820 a, 1074, 1612, 3525, 3726.

temple of the Genius of Augustus and assigned to it a fragmentary dedication of unknown provenience, addressed apparently to the Genius Augusti.⁴⁹ Mau, however, pointed out that, since the whole structure seems to have been built after the earthquake of 63, the temple ought rather to be assigned to a later emperor. For a number of reasons he decided on Vespasian, adding the statement, "As this emperor possessed too great simplicity of character to allow men to worship him as a god while he was still alive, [the temple] was probably dedicated to his genius."⁵⁰

Only after a thorough reconsideration of the criteria for dating Pompeian monuments⁵¹ would it be possible to determine whether Mau's dating of this temple after 63 and his statement that no previous shrine existed on the spot are correct. But whatever the date of temple and altar,⁵² the essential thing is that the victim shows that the altar belongs to the cult of the emperor's genius and that neither at Pompeii nor anywhere else in the Roman world is there any record of temple or priest to whose title is attached the name of an emperor's genius. It is needless to search further in the forum of Pompeii for the temple at which the *sacerdos Augusti* performed his duties. This is undoubtedly the *templum Augusti*, the shrine of the living emperor whoever he might be; here on the emperor's birthday, the day of all others sacred to the genius, took place the one sacrifice which the

⁴⁹ Cf. Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeii*,⁴ 117. According to Mau the measurements of the inscription (*C.I.L.* x, 816) do not fit the temple, but would fit the wall that separates the courtyard from the forum of Pompeii. The restoration of the inscription is not altogether sure. From comparison with *C.I.L.* x, 998, it seems to belong to an early imperial date.

⁵⁰ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, 109. For a more detailed discussion see Mau, *Atti dell'Accademia Archeologica di Napoli*, xvi (1891-1893), 181-183.

⁵¹ Such an investigation as has enabled Dr. Esther B. Van Deman to put on a new basis the dating of buildings at Rome is much needed for Pompeii.

⁵² On the basis of Mau's association of this temple with Vespasian the altar is usually taken as a typical example of Flavian sculpture. I believe, however, from the style of the reliefs, that it is, if not Augustan, certainly early imperial work.

calendar from Cumae records, the offering of a bull to the genius of the reigning emperor.⁵³

If Mau is correct in believing that this temple was constructed on a new site after the earthquake of 63, it may be that the cult of the living emperor had hitherto been observed in the large shrine next door, which Mau tried to identify as the *Lararium publicum*. There is much more probability in the earlier theory that this building with its numerous niches and places for statues belongs to the imperial cult.⁵⁴ It may originally have been a temple where the deified emperors were worshipped with the genius of the living emperor. The fact already noted that Marcus Holconius Celer, who had been *sacerdos Augusti* before 14 A.D., became *sacerdos divi Augusti* after that date, lends support to the belief that the two forms of the imperial cult were originally combined at Pompeii. A similar combination is attested by the official oath-form and by the titles of various municipal and provincial priests of Spain.⁵⁵ Later, perhaps when the larger shrine was completely rebuilt after the earthquake of 63, it may have been found convenient to effect a separation of the two cults, and at that time the small temple next door may have been built and dedicated to the cult of the living emperor.

There is further evidence of importance from Pompeii in a

⁵³ The entry on this day is as follows: *Natalis Caesaris. Immolatio Caesari hostia, supplicatio*. All the other days on the calendar, which include the birthdays of Tiberius, Drusus, and Germanicus, and twelve days to be celebrated in Augustus' honor, are signalized simply by *supplicationes*.

⁵⁴ Cf. Mau, *Röm. Myth.* xi (1896), 285-301; Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, ch. xiii. The evidence for such shrines of the *Lares publici* is scant in comparison with the material for the imperial cult. Mau's objection that the building is not sufficiently like a temple to have served as a shrine of the emperors does not seem serious. This structure has also been identified as the municipal senate-house, the place where the *decuriones* usually met. In this connection it is noteworthy that the temple of the imperial worship frequently served for that meeting-place. Cf. *C.I.L.* x, 3698 (Cumae), 1784 (Puteoli); xi, 3614 (Caere), 1420 (Pisae); xiv, 353 (Ostia).

⁵⁵ Cf. the title *flamen Romae et divorum et Augustorum* in Barcino (*C.I.L.* ii, 4514), and in the province of Hispania Citerior (*C.I.L.* ii, 4205, 4222, 4228, 4235), etc. See also Geiger's restoration (*op. cit.* 9) of *C.I.L.* v, 7458.

record of a priest of Nero (*flamen Neronis Caesaris Augusti filii perpetuus*, *C.I.L.* iv, 3884) who held office before the death of Claudius at a time when Nero was regarded as prospective heir to the succession. Evidently the genius of the heir sometimes had a share in the sacrifices made.⁵⁶ Similarly at the altar of the Numen Augustum of Forum Clodii, which must have been established originally before Augustus' death, the *genii* of both Augustus and Tiberius are honored.⁵⁷

In concluding let us see how Augustus came to introduce and develop the cult of his genius. Early in his reign he had come to understand the value in legalizing his monarchical powers of the divinity with which his Oriental subjects endowed him. Among these subjects, therefore, he encouraged his own worship. But since he realized that the worship of a living man was totally foreign to the Roman manner of thought, he instituted for Roman citizens in the East the cult of the deified Julius, a worship that emphasized his divine origin. That was a form of divinity that he did not hesitate to assume even at Rome. There he fostered the cult of his adoptive father and built magnificent temples to Venus Genetrix and Mars Ultor, the divine ancestors of his house. He styled himself *divi filius* and assumed the title Augustus that, in Professor Warde Fowler's happy phrase, kept constantly before the minds of men "the germ of a deity in him."⁵⁸ From the cult of his house it was a natural step to the worship of his genius, a cult that emphasized not the past but

⁵⁶ One is reminded in this connection of the famous temple to Gaius and Lucius, the *Maison Carrée*, erected at Nemausus earlier, many authorities think, than the death of either of Augustus' grandsons. Cf. *C.I.L.* xii, 3156, and Beaudouin's discussion, "Le culte des empereurs dans la Gaule Narbonnaise," in *Annales de l'enseignement supérieur de Grenoble*, III (1891), 94-97.

⁵⁷ *C.I.L.* xi, 3303. The inscription as it stands dates from 18 A.D., but its earlier provisions, which apparently are copied from some decree, seem from the references to Augustus' *genius* and from the use of his name without *divus* to go back to a period before his death. It is interesting to note in this connection a private inscription from Falerii (*C.I.L.* xi, 3076): *Genio Augusti et Ti. Caesaris Iunoni Liviae Mystes l(iberta)*. The Juno of Livia would be a natural accompaniment of the cult of Augustus' genius.

⁵⁸ *Roman Ideas of Deity*, 126.

the future of his race, the divine power that assured the continuance of the blessings which the Julian house had brought to Rome. It is probably not a mere coincidence that the earliest evidence for the provincial cult of Roma and Augustus in the West comes from 12 B.C., the year after the Genius Augusti seems first to have been included among the official state cults. I venture to suggest that the altar of the three Gauls which Augustus' stepson Drusus established in that year near Lugudunum represented, for Roman citizens at least, the worship of the emperor's genius. The non-Roman character of the population, which readily led to the assimilation of Eastern cult forms, might explain why Suetonius and Dio in their comments on the provincial cult note no differences between the Eastern and the Western provinces.⁵⁹

The correspondence in date between the dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor and the beginning of the municipal cult of Augustus in Italy, suggests that the extension of the cult of the emperor's genius that seems to have accompanied the establishment of the new temple supplied the model for the municipal cult in Italy, and I may add, in towns of the West-

⁵⁹ It is impossible to deal adequately with the cult in Italy without the evidence for both provincial and municipal cult in the Western provinces. That is a subject which I hope to consider in detail in a later study. Reference must be made to the view of Beaudouin, *op. cit.* 47-50, that the famous altar of the Numen Augusti set up in Narbo in 11 A.D. (*C.I.L.* XII, 4333), and the numerous dedications from Gaul, Germany, and Britain to the Numen Augusti, united with various other gods, are all to be referred to the Genius Augusti. Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 132, takes the same view, but Toutain, *op. cit.* 51-53, strongly opposes the suggestion that *numen* is equivalent to *genius*. I believe that the Numen Augusti was a new form of the cult of the genius, probably associated with the altar of the Numen Augustum established in Rome by Tiberius some time before Augustus' death (cf. *Fasti Praenestini* for Jan. 17, *C.I.L.* I, pt. 1², p. 308). Evidence in support of that view is found in the association of Felicitas with the Numen Augusti in both cases. The entry in the *Fasti Praenestini* reads: N[umini Augusti ad aram] quam dedicavit Ti. Caesar Fellicitat[i] q[uod Ti. Caesar aram] Aug. patri dedicavit. Cf. the reference to Augustus' birthday in lines 14-16 of the altar from Narbo: qua die eum saeculi felicitas orbi terrarum rectorem edidit. The altar of Forum Clodii referred to above may be associated with the same cult. Cf. also *C.I.L.* IV, 3882, an inscription referring to gladiatorial games, inscribed to the Numen Augusti by a *flamen Augustalis* of Pompeii.

ern provinces as well. The altar from Pompeii showing imperial emblems and the sacrifice of a bull, the regular victim offered to the genius, indicates the existence of an official municipal cult of the genius over which the priests of Augustus in Pompeii must have presided. Perhaps at Neapolis, the most thoroughly Greek city of Italy, where the Hellenic character of the games in the emperor's honor is abundantly shown, it can be doubted whether the genius was the object of the cult. The Alexandrian sailors who offered incense to Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 98) probably worshipped the Emperor in the Italian town exactly as they did in Alexandria, and the same thing must have been true of many another Easterner who observed this cult in Italy.⁶⁰ But for the official municipal cult in Italy we can believe Dio's statement that no emperor ventured to make himself a god in his lifetime. Whatever the attitude of individual worshippers of Eastern origin, the cult that our inscriptions attest was directed not toward the living emperor but toward the shadowy attendant deity whose function it was to perpetuate his race. Under this form the cult was not peculiar to the first Augustus but continued after his death to be devoted to the living emperor whoever he might be.

There was, however, one marked distinction in the cult between Rome and the municipalities. In Rome the Genius Augusti had no special temples or priests but was worshipped at the shrines of other divinities and was under the care of priesthoods that already existed. In the municipalities the Genius had an independent cult, with priests whose title *flamen* betrays the importance of sacrifice among their duties and with temples constructed in honor of the living Emperor. These are the features of the worship that justify Tacitus' sharp comment, which I do not hesitate to refer to the municipal cult: *Nihil deorum honoribus relictum cum se templis et effigie numinum per flamines et sacerdotes coli vellet.* For Tacitus at least the genius was but a thin disguise.

⁶⁰ In this number are perhaps to be included the *cultores Augusti qui per omnes domos in modum collegiorum habebantur* (Tac. *Ann.* i, 73).